

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 OMB-01 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 /057 W
-----241258Z 020637 /44

R 241020Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4972
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMCONGEN HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 1072

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JA, CH, PFOR, PINT
SUBJECT: KOMEITO CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI MEETS WITH HUA KUO-FENG

REF: TOKYO 1010

SUMMARY: IN JANUARY 22 MEETING WITH VISITING KOMEITO CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI, HUA KUO-FENG REITERATED CHINESE INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PROPOSED PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT). WHILE FONOFF SAW NOTHING NEW IN HUA'S STATEMENTS AND CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS AS GOJ INTERPRETATION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE, HEAVY PUBLICITY GIVEN HUA-TAKEIRI MEETING HAS INCREASED POLITICAL PRESSURE ON FUKUDA GOVERNMENT TO COMPROMISE WITH CHINESE. END SUMMARY.

1. JAPANESE PRESS GAVE FRONTPAGE COVERAGE FOR TWO DAYS RUNNING TO JANUARY 22 MEETING OF HUA KUO-FENG AND KOMEITO CHAIRMAN YOSHIKATSU TAKEIRI, FIRST JAPANESE
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TO MEET WITH HUA SINCE HE BECAME CHAIRMAN LAST OCTOBER. AS DESCRIBED BY KOMEITO PARTY PAPER CORRESPONDENT PRESENT AT MEETING(NO ONE FROM EMBASSY PRESENT) HUA REPORTEDLY MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

--HUA SPECIFICALLY CRITICIZED FORMER
PM MIKI AND FORMER FONMIN MIYAZAWA FOR DISRUPTING

"SMOOTH" COURSE OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS MADE CONCLUSION OF PFT IMPOSSIBLE. "IT WOULD HAVE MEANT OUR YIELDING ON OUR PRINCIPLE, A RETREAT FROM THE SPIRIT OF THE CHINA-JAPAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE."

--HUA HELD "THOSE PERSONS WITHIN THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WHO OPPOSE CHINA-JAPAN FRIENDSHIP" AND NOT "THE JAPANESE PEOPLE" RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE TO CONCLUDE PFT. "THE PROBLEM OF THE 'HEGEMONY CLAUSE' IS ONE OF ACTUAL SUBSTANCE--WHETHER ONE DESIRES CHINA-JAPAN FRIENDSHIP."

--HUA WELCOMED PRIMIN FUKUDA'S MESSAGE THAT NEW JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WOULD CARRY OUT JOINT COMMUNIQUE FAITHFULLY BUT RAISED DOUBTS OVER FUKUDA'S INTENTIONS. IT WOULD BE EASY TO CONCLUDE PFT "IF PRIMIN FUKUDA HAS REALLY MADE A DECISION, BUT FROM THE INFORMATION WE HAVE RECEIVED SO FAR, HE HAS NOT YET MADE A FINAL DECISION."

2. TAKEIRI'S MEETING WITH HUA BROUGHT FORTH SPATE OF SPECULATIVE ARTICLES AND COMMENTARY IN JAPANESE MEDIA ON POSSIBLE SHIFT IN GOJ'S CHINA POLICY. ON JANUARY 24 GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN DENIED THAT PRIMIN FUKUDA HAD ALREADY SCHEDULED MEETING WITH FONMIN HATOYAMA TO DISCUSS RESPONSE TO HUA'S STATEMENTS. PRIMIN, HE WENT ON, WOULD WAIT FOR FIRST-PERSON BRIEFING FROM TAKEIRI ON HIS RETURN TO TOKYO THIS WEEK BEFORE COMMENTING. IN INTERVIEW WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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JAPANESE PRESS IN SHANGHAI, TAKEIRI SAID THAT HE WOULD URGE PRIMIN FUKUDA TO DROP MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS AND CONCLUDE PFT RAPIDLY. LDP PRESIDENT OF UPPER HOUSE KENZO KONO, WHO HAD VISITED PRC EARLIER IN MONTH, REPORTEDLY STATED "CONDITIONS ARE NOW RIPE" FOR FORWARD MOVEMENT ON PFT.

3. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, FONOFF CHINA DEPDIR IKEDA SPECULATED THAT CHINESE MOTIVATION BEHIND HUA-TAKEIRI MEETING HAS BEEN TWOFOLD: (A) TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HUA, AFTER UNUSUAL ABSENCE FROM PUBLIC VIEW, WAS IN FULL COMMAND AS HEAD OF STATE AND (B) TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON JAPAN TO ACCEPT CHINESE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT BY USING HUA AS AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE INSTEAD OF LIAO CHENG-CHIH OF JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION AS HAD BEEN CASE WITH EARLIER KONO VISIT. ALTHOUGH JANUARY 22 MEETING HAD COME AS SURPRISE TO FONOFF, CHOICE OF TAKEIRI AS VEHICLE FOR CHINESE VIEWS WAS LOGICAL. TAKEIRI HAD LONG BEEN ACTIVE

IN PROMOTING SINO-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP AND ON EARLIER VISITS HAD MET WITH CHOU EN-LAI AND LATER TENG HSIAO-PING. IN 1972 HE HAD SERVED AS VALUABLE INTERMEDIARY IN CONVEYING MESSAGE FROM CHOU TO GOJ AND HAD BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN PREPARING WAY FOR NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS LATER THAT YEAR (IN PRESS ACCOUNTS OF MEETING, HUA REPORTEDLY GREETED TAKEIRI AS "AN OLD FRIEND" AND MADE SEVERAL REFERENCES TO TAKEIRI'S CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH CHOU).

4. ACCORDING TO IKEDA, FONOFF'S INITIAL ASSESSMENT WAS THAT HUA'S ADAMANT INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE REPRESENTED NOTHING NEW. HE SAID THAT FONOFF STOOD BY ITS EARLIER VIEW THAT, GIVEN UNCERTAINTIES OF CHINESE LEADERSHIP SITUATION, PRESENT TIME WAS NOT PROPITIOUS FOR MAJOR COMPROMISE ON GOJ'S FOUR POINTS. HE NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTICULARLY INAUSPICIOUS TO GIVE IN TO CHINESE ON ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE AT SAME TIME AS JAPAN WAS ENTERING DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIETS ON FISHERIES AND 200 MILE ECONOMIC ZONE. IKEDA ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT INCREASED POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR RAPID CONCLUSION OF PFT, AS EXEMPLIFIED BY TAKEIRI AND KONO'S RECENT STATEMENTS, COULD WELL FORCE PRIMIN FUKUDA TO COMPROMISE ON FOUR POINTS.

5. COMMENT: SINCE ASSUMING OFFICE LAST DECEMBER, PRIMIN FUKUDA HAS SENT MESSAGES TO PEKING EXPRESSING HIS DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD ON PFT THROUGH LDP ELDER KONO AND NOW THROUGH KOMEITO'S TAKEIRI. ADDITIONALLY, AMBIGUITY SURROUNDING CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY SONODA'S REMARKS LAST WEEK SUGGESTED THAT GOJ MIGHT BE DROPPING FOUR POINTS (REFTEL). IN VIEW OF FONOFF, THESE MESSAGES SERVED USEFUL PURPOSE OF DEMONSTRATING JAPANESE GOODWILL BUT PROBABLY STOOD LITTLE CHANCE OF ELICITING POSITIVE RESPONSE GIVEN PRESENT CHINESE PREOCCUPATION WITH INTERNAL PROBLEMS. HUA'S MEETING WITH TAKEIRI, HOWEVER, NEATLY PUT BALL BACK IN JAPANESE COURT. ALTHOUGH SUBSTANCE OF HUA'S COMMENTS MIGHT CONTAIN NOTHING NEW, UNUSUAL NATURE OF MEETING AND INDIRECT QUESTIONING OF FUKUDA'S SINCERITY ON PFT HAVE INCREASED DOMESTIC PRESSURE ON FUKUDA TO COMPROMISE ON FOUR POINTS. HODGSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977TOKYO01072
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770025-0015
Format: TEL
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770123/aaaaatxf.tel
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 TOKYO 1010
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3516983
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KOMIITO CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI MEETS WITH HUA KUO-FENG
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, JA, CH, (TAKEIRI, YOSHIKATSU), (HUA KUO-FENG)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8f092bd2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009